

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 870

February 27 1953

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## CRASHED JETS EQUAL TO 1,700 HOMES

Peace News Correspondent

An incomplete list of 43 Dutch jet fighters lost through accidents between February 1950 and December 1952, involving the death of 30 pilots and total cost of approximately £1,700,000 is published in a recent issue of the Dutch journal "Vrede."

The money would have been sufficient for the building of 1,700 flats or a week's holiday for 300,000 children.

## Russia helps our flood victims

By EMRYS HUGHES, MP

THE generosity of the Russian Government in sending a substantial sum to the Lord Mayor's Fund for Flood Relief was promptly recognised by the Prime Minister when he sent for Mr. Gromyko, the Russian Ambassador, to express personally his thanks on behalf of the British people.

Monday's question by Mr. Clement Davies and Mr. Churchill's answer, followed by the appearance in the evening papers of the Prime Minister ostentatiously shaking hands with Mr. Gromyko on the steps of 10 Downing Street, will surely make many people wonder why the spirit cannot be carried a little further into the wider field of international relationships.

No doubt there will be some people who will dismiss the Russian action as just another example of their clever propaganda, just as they said the same thing when the Russians contributed large sums to help the miners' families when the miners were locked out in 1926.

If the Russians had a propaganda motive in mind it was certainly a much happier one and wiser than some of their propaganda lines.

But it would be grossly unjust to dismiss it in this way. The Russians have also given a larger sum to the Netherlands and there is no particular reason why they should be

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## THE LESSON OF ORADOUR

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

THE trial at Bordeaux of those responsible for carrying out the massacre at Oradour-sur-Glane, and the sequel to it have exposed the hypocrisy that has from the beginning accompanied the trials of war criminals.

It has always been evident to people who could keep their minds from being warped by national self-righteousness that those who had been parties to what was done at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were in no position to develop a new conception of moral law in relation to the crimes of war.

The trial of the Oradour criminals, however, has underlined the falsity of the whole conception.

Having invaded Alsace the Germans treated the inhabitants as German nationals and imposed military service in the German army on the male population.

Alsacians as well as Germans were condemned by the military court at Bordeaux equally with the Germans.

Immediately there was a great outcry. It was urged that the Court had not made sufficient allowance for the fact that 13 of the Alsacians in the S.S. unit who were thus condemned were there by illegal compulsion and could only choose between obeying orders and being shot themselves.

In consequence the French Assembly has passed an act of amnesty for these men.

The Germans who remain under condemnation, however, were equally condemned with the hard choice of obeying orders or being shot; and this is a choice that every conscript who has been forced into service has to face.

The Mayor of Strasbourg, urging amnesty, said that it is not possible to demand of every citizen that he should be a hero.

The war crime trials, however, have been conducted on the assumption that the victors have a right to demand of the Hitler Germany who did evil things under the Hitler tyranny that he should have

the clear logic of the Oradour trial, as in other trials for war crimes, is that no man should permit himself to be compelled and thereby be forced to surrender his conscience to the state.

## Nehru warns again

# CHINA MUST HAVE SEAT AT U.N.

## No peace through blockade

PRIME Minister Nehru told the Indian Parliament last week that the refusal to admit China was a departure from the principle of universality with which the UN had started.

The question was not one of approval or disapproval of the Chinese revolution, but of one of the biggest countries of the world not being recognised.

The "intrusion of the military mentality" in the chancelleries of the world was a "dangerous development," he said. Peace required peaceful methods.

Referring to UN and Korea he deplored that "this great organisation built up for peace had sponsored war, however small it might be, and to the extent that it sponsored war and got connected with it, naturally its functions of peacemaking became less."

About the Indian resolution on Korea, Mr. Nehru said: "We tried our utmost to find out what the countries concerned were prepared to accept or to do. . . . We did proceed on the sound enough basis of finding out a good deal. I am not justifying anything, but my point is that we have always made an earnest attempt to try to compose things and put one party's viewpoint before others without compromising anything."

### Asia and Africa on the move

"Asia is very wide awake, resurgent, active, and somewhat rebellious. How can one deal with it? All these are problems to be solved, ultimately not by military might but in men's minds. They are problems of psychological approach to vast numbers of human beings," continued the Prime Minister.

As far as present white policy in Africa was concerned, Mr. Nehru said that whatever might be its virtue for the present in the minds of those responsible for it, he was dead certain that it was fatal for tomorrow and the day after. "It does not

require a prophet to say that this approach will lead to most dangerous consequences in racial conflicts."

On avoiding war, Mr. Nehru said that so far as India was concerned, war was not considered inevitable. "It is a dangerous possibility and sometimes it becomes a probability, but it is not inevitable. Therefore we should work for its avoidance. And for that one can work apart from political or diplomatic fields, essentially in the human psychological field."

## CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

# A round table conference for real partnership

By The Rev. Michael Scott

THE opportunity belongs peculiarly to Britain in Africa of building up free institutions and responsible government on a pattern appropriate to the multi-racial situation in Central and East Africa.

There are many who still believe in this vocation of Britain and her capacity to achieve it, given confidence and co-operation by the people of respective races. But there is in the present Federal scheme a danger of jeopardising Britain's role as protector and mediator in this development of democracy.

In the event of failure there, all would be the losers and, by no means the least, the White population of Central Africa.

African hostility to the scheme has been growing in volume and intensity in spite of assurances by Government spokesmen and advisers that this is insignificant.

Some have urged that Britain's moral duty as trustee is to ignore the protests of her wards for the sake of their long-term interests. But if in the great moral issues which are bound up in the proposed scheme for Federation Britain should be tried and found wanting, irreparable harm would have been done to all in Africa and Britain whose future peace is involved in it.

### Decisive factors

Whatever the economic advantages of this form of association might appear to be theoretically, the political and human factors are likely to prove decisive.

It is the task of statesmanship to recognise the limits beyond which nature in Africa, and especially human nature, cannot be forced.

Against the anticipated economic advantages must be weighed the likely consequences of attempting to force a mechanism which may be humanly unworkable, or which may set up so many stresses and strains that it would create more problems than it would be constitutionally capable of solving.

In fact, it cannot be denied that the Africans who, for generations, have been taught to rely on Britain's protection until they are in a position to stand on their own in their political relations with their fellow men, are now to be placed by her in a position of permanent political subordination to the White minority in their own land.

They are to be provided with no means whereby they can secure the two-thirds majority necessary to change this constitution. For, under this scheme, a two-thirds majority can always be held by the White population of these territories who have, therefore, the means to change the constitution to the disadvantage of the Africans. Not even in the much vaunted Standing Committee on African Affairs will Africans themselves be assured of a majority.

And all this is proposed in face of the lessons of history, and the tragic debacle in the Union of South Africa is even used

## JERSEY ENDS CONSCRIPTION

From BERNARD WITHERS

JERSEY has rejected a proposal to introduce conscription for military service in the island.

The States (the Jersey Parliament), has thrown out the National Service Bill by 25 votes to 22.

But the motives of the Deputies, as reported by the Jersey Evening Post, offer little encouragement to pacifists.

The President of the Defence Committee, introducing the Bill, asserted that it was the island's duty to contribute to the common defence of the Commonwealth.

One Deputy suggested that this duty might be discharged by a monetary contribution of £150,000, while others were anxious to increase the number of volunteers as an alternative to conscription. A States bounty of £100 per volunteer was the means proposed.

Financial considerations formed the basis of most of the criticism of the Bill. Some Deputies wanted Jersey to raise her own force for the defence of the island, but the

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as a reason for pressing this scheme on Africans.

No Africans in the swiftly changing conditions in Africa and in our contemporary world can be expected to accept this, and they do not.

Is it yet too late to appeal to the reason and conscience of our statesmen not to pursue the dangerous course upon which they are about to embark, lest the great opportunities which are still open to Britain in Africa are lost?

### New approach needed

There are other courses which could well lead those who now live in growing fear of one another to join together in the building of a more co-operative and serviceable civilisation in the generations to come. Such a civilisation can only be founded upon confidence, and if this has not yet been achieved between the races in Central Africa this is clearly no time for Britain to diminish her powers of protection and mediation but rather to use them to some more constructive purpose.

Many of us who still believe in Britain's role in Africa cannot accept as her last word the rejection of the petition by the chiefs and people of Nyasaland by Her Majesty's Secretary of State. It is not yet too late for the unhappy memory of this rejection by the Secretary of State, as contrasted with the reception given them by many thousands of people in Britain, to be effaced.

A change of policy and a new approach could restore something which is too valuable to be lost to Britain in the present condition of Africa and the world. Hanging on this decision in Central Africa is the fate of the three High Commission Territories and our future policy in East Africa and our relations with West Africa.

### Restoring confidence

In place of Federation would not a round table conference of the responsible leaders of all communities in Central Africa help to lay the foundations of a new policy? It might help to restore that confidence on which alone a more enduring economic and social order could be built by our own and future generations, both white and black.

All organisations having any interest in Britain's responsibilities in Africa should forward resolutions to the heads of churches, and to their own national executives and to the Prime Minister, protesting against any commitment of Britain by the Government to the imposition of the Federal scheme for Central Africa, against the wishes of the African people. Letters about this should also be written to Members of Parliament.

Many requests have been received for meetings to be held in different parts of the country. It has been proposed that these should culminate in an Africa week especially dedicated to prayer and protest against the passage of any Enabling Bill to impose Federation against the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants of Central Africa.

Enquiries for particulars, speakers, notes, pamphlets, etc., may be sent to the Africa Bureau, 69 Great Peter Street, London, S.W.1.

## MORRISON

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## FLOODS

Correspondent

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## Flood Month

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## PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N4  
STAMFORD HILL 2262 (three lines)

27th February, 1953

### PERPETUATING CONSCRIPTION

**B**ITAIN first departed from a prized tradition of individual liberty and instituted conscription in World War I.

It was necessary, the people were told, in order to destroy a system of militarism which had itself been built upon an opposite tradition of permanent compulsory military service.

Conscription in this country was required as a regrettable temporary expedient in order to destroy an evil militaristic tradition and to make the world safe for democracy.

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When this conflict ended, although democracy had not been made conspicuously more safe in the world, and militarism had only too evidently not been dethroned, Great Britain rapidly brought its compulsory military service measures to an end, and for twenty years reverted to its traditional regard for individual liberty.

In 1939, however, compulsory military training was re-instituted and when World War II was entered upon this was expanded to full-scale military conscription in order that Britain might play its part with the "peace-loving nations of the world" against the menace of the aggressive powers.

The aggressors were routed and only the "peace-loving" nations were left as military powers.

This time, however, there was no such hurry as had been displayed after World War I to return to the traditional "British way of life"; although the peace-loving nations had won the war some of them were more peace-loving than others.

Two long spells of conscription had begun to condition the British people to its permanent acceptance.

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Before war-time conscription was brought to an end, therefore, a Labour Government, in defiance of the teachings that had been delivered from Labour Party platforms throughout the whole of its existence, had made provision for a peace-time measure of compulsory military service; out of deference to what opposition remained it provided that the Act should be brought to an end on December 31, 1953. It also provided, however, that a later date might be fixed by an Order in Council presented for the approval of Parliament.

Not only was the Labour Party acting in denial of its own teachings, but the circumstances were such that it permitted itself to act in rejection of its past in a particularly shameful way.

Peace-time conscription applied to adult men would have involved the men who had served as soldiers in the war and it would have provoked a formidable resistance from those who would have been called up; the new Act was applied therefore to boys of 18 who had not been called up for service, but who were also, of course, too immature to have formulated ripened views on politics, life and normal values.

Among those who were responsible for the passage of this measure were some who had resisted conscription on grounds of conscience in World War I and others who had advocated a policy of war-resistance in the between-war period. That these should have changed their minds is something which those who have remained pacifists can view with some sympathetic understanding while they deplore it.

What cannot be extenuated is the readiness of these people to apply the compulsion to become soldiers to young lads. For those who had previously, as mature men and women, taught the immorality of war and the right and duty of conscientious refusal to participate in it this was a particularly base political compliance.

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The present Conservative Government now proposes that Military Conscription shall be extended for a further five years, which will take it to December 31, 1958. By that time we shall have had a period of nearly 20 years during which Britain will have been a conscript country. We shall thus have a population conditioned to its acceptance.

It is true that the assurances will remain that have been given by the leaders of the Labour Party that they desire to get rid of conscription at the earliest possible opportunity, but unless the Labour members put up a formidable resistance to this extension proposed by the Government—and the signs that it will do so are by no means good—nobody will attach a great deal of importance to such assurances.

It becomes likely that we shall have to face the continuous conscription of our male youth until World War III has tragically demonstrated that conscription is a military irrelevance in the world of today.

### Help from Russia

**R**EFERRING to the use by Queen Juliana of the phrase "the free world" in connection with the help given to Holland during the recent disaster, Sybil Morrison said in Peace News (Feb. 13) that there was no reason to suppose that Russia would have been less willing to help had she also been a near neighbour.

We are very glad to learn that Russia has not thought of neighbourliness in terms of geography: £90,000 has come from the Soviet Union towards the Lord Mayor of London's Flood Distress Fund and similar help has been sent to Holland.

"How shines a good deed in a naughty world." It will be difficult for any to be suspicious of such action or to suggest camouflaged sabotage!

We must, indeed, accept the gift in the spirit in which it has been sent, even though it emphasises the fact that generosity is not confined to the free world, and that the Russians are not less wanting in human kindness than others.

Here surely is the justification for hoping that once we could overcome our mutual fears and desire for our own security first, we could find the opportunity for co-operation and mutual understanding in a common readiness to assist those whose lives are always lived under the shadow of hunger, disease and death.

### Continuing conscription

**T**OGETHER with its proposal for extending conscription for five years the Government also proposes to end the present arrangement under which, after their two years' conscript service, men serve three and a half years with the Reserve and are then free from any further Reserve liability.

A Bill is to be introduced to provide that all men called up for national service between Jan. 1, 1949, and Dec. 31, 1953, shall after their two years' full-time service and three and a half on Reserve, remain registered for a further period of five years as liable to recall in an emergency.

The liability of Class Z and G men will not involve two annual weeks for training but will be extended to enable them to be recalled until they are 45 years old. All of which is to some extent irrelevant since if a military emergency should arise, it would necessitate the immediate mobilisation of the whole nation.

All who are concerned about constructive peacemaking and the maintenance of true human values should play their part in continued opposition to conscription, the policy which necessitates it, and to prevent Parliamentary approval for the necessary Order in Council.

### The "Defence" White Paper

**I**N the coming financial year, according to the recent White Paper, expenditure on what is mis-

### Leaves from a notebook...

**W**HAT bastion of British pacifism, the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, was set up by the Quakers in 1887. Last week the Committee circulated a statement on the functions of the Committee, and since no-one can work for peace for any length of time without becoming aware of the value of the work done by Quakers it will be worth recording them here.

1. Reminding Friends of the Christian basis of our Peace Testimony and strengthening the convictions of our members on this issue.
2. Assisting Friends and Attenders to see the implications of the Peace Testimony in relation to current problems.
3. Encouraging a public witness to peace locally.
4. Providing opportunities for sharing the thinking of different groups of Friends on peace problems.
5. Educating for peace by way of meetings, conferences, pamphlets, posters and other printed material.
6. Co-operating with other peace groups, national and international.
7. Undertaking on behalf of the Society, political action designed to lessen tensions and to improve the atmosphere in which peaceful negotiations can develop successfully.

Incidentally when the PDC was formed it worked for two years under the title "The Committee of the Warlike State of Europe." Such were the piping days of peace!

### IT'S STILL A COURT-MARTIAL

**I** MENTIONED a fortnight ago that questions were to be asked in the House about the procedure for a National Serviceman who becomes a CO while he is still liable for part-time service.

The questions were duly asked, and Col. Hutchison, the Under-Secretary for War, told Mr. Donald Wade: "We want to be satisfied that the objection is bona fide. Therefore he has to provide some form of evidence that he really does believe what he says has developed."

Mr. James Hudson translated this into rather un-parliamentary terms: "Does that mean that the Government will insist on putting men through incarceration of one sort or another in order to find out whether they have a conscience at all?"

Mr. Hutchison: "What the hon. Gentleman suggests is the system."

## BEHIND THE NEWS

called "Defence" is to rise by a further £123 million to a new peacetime peak of £1,636 million.

This is over four times as much as was spent in 1939 and represents a far higher proportion of national income than any pre-war figure did.

The rise is partly accounted for by the increase in costs. In armaments, as in other more desirable commodities, we are getting less today for more money than we did three years ago.

The White Paper holds out no hope of any substantial reduction of the burden for at least a further three years, and even then, if the cold war is still being waged, the burden will be very great.

A leading article in the Daily Telegraph remarked: "It is a sorry commentary on the state of the world in the mid-twentieth century that such vast resources must be diverted from improvements in the standard of living to the multiplication of weapons." But the writer adds: "The cold war is a malignant conspiracy to keep us poor in order that we may become an easy prey to Communist ambition."

If that is so, to allow ourselves to remain involved in such a conspiracy seems to be playing the Communist game in which they get the best of it both ways.

The truth is that the White Paper, as our whole policy of defence, is based upon the assumption that the Soviet Union is anxious to attack Europe, that any weakening of our defences will invite aggression and that we must build up our resources for a further three years so as to be in a position to negotiate from strength.

### The Times answered

The leading article in The Times of Nov. 20, 1951, said: "Difficulties begin when it is asked how this growing strength of the West is to be used" and asked "At what point will it be safe to talk and what are the Powers to talk about?"

The answer given was "On the first question the greatest danger is that the Western Powers may seek a conference too early... There is, however, an opposite danger that in strengthening their defences, by rearming Germany and building bases under the North Atlantic Treaty, they may eventually overrun the point where negotiation is useful or possible."

The answers recently given by the Prime Minister as to why he had not fulfilled his election suggestion of a meeting with Stalin, go to show that this point may already have been overrun.

Each successive step in rearmament

makes clear the fact that the phrase "negotiation from strength" is a misnomer.

The insistence on strength is a denial of the method of negotiation, and the piling up of armaments is not meant to secure a process of negotiation but of dictation.

Men have been warned of the danger of gaining the whole world and losing their own soul. The White Paper emphasises a similar danger: gaining a position of material superiority and losing the essentials we hope thereby to preserve.

### Creating new dangers

That Soviet ambition is to see the world dominated by Communism, as America would like to see it everywhere free from Communist influence, is clear, but that is not to say that either Russia or America are prepared to start a world war to achieve their purpose.

That Russia fears attack from the West may be as unreasonable to us as our fear of Russian aggression is to them.

While either Russia or America might emerge as the so-called victor in a world war, victory would be meaningless amid the ruins of civilisation.

We can only repeat that we see no defence whatever of any desire on the part of Russia for a military adventure in Western Europe. We believe that such a conception is foreign to the whole trend of Russian foreign policy.

Though they are certainly not against the use of violence and make the same mistake as the Western Powers in thinking that the views which people hold can be changed or their way of life preserved by violence, the Soviet Union obviously relies more upon the political method of infiltration than the military weapon of conquest.

It is that which gives point to the dilemma of the Daily Telegraph's leading writer, and the White Paper helps to create the conditions within which such infiltration becomes more possible and dangerous.

### Si vis pacem para bellum

The policy re-emphasised in the White Paper will only serve to sharpen the East-West tension, increase the difficulties of negotiations, speed up the race in atomic and biological weapons and create a developing war situation.

The attempt which it represents to balance rival claims—to adjust armaments expenditure so as to release more resources for export—is not enough because it does not attempt to balance the rival claims to disarmament and positive peacemaking against rearmament and war preparation.

What is needed is a complete reversal of British foreign policy—a White Paper which will explain that the Government had accepted the reality of the situation and was prepared to find the greatest measure of security for Britain through a policy of neutrality and was therefore ending conscription, planning disarmament (unilateral if necessary) and turning over all resources for constructive peace-making in a scheme of world development and mutual aid.

We have often pointed out the fallacy in the old saying "If you want peace, prepare for war," but the condition of the world today throws a new light on it and establishes its truth in a new form. If we want peace, we must prepare for war, not a war against Russia and not the preparations envisaged by the White Paper, not a cold war, but the right kind of war the war on want and on the real enemies of all mankind which are neither Communism nor capitalism, but hunger, disease and preventable death.

### Bevanism and neutralism

**W**E commented last week on Mr. Nehru's rejoinder to Aneurin Bevan's advocacy of a Third Force. The desire of the Prime Minister of India to pursue a policy of neutralism has been made clear on several occasions.

We have been advocating for months that the British Government should accept responsibility for organising a peace around a neutral Britain in co-operation with a similar development in the East and around India.

We hope that Mr. Bevan is now realising that the logic of the position which he has taken leads to neutralism and, moreover, a neutralism which does not require any armaments at all.

It is not surprising that he has been attacked in the British Press because papers which are committed to the support of the policy of rearmament for defence and the false assumption upon which it is based, find in neutralism their greatest challenge.

A disarmed neutrality has indeed become the only practical alternative to the political and military alliances and the consequences explained in the White Paper.

### IRENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C1

Peacemaker



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## I AND I WILL NEVER ACTION ANOTHER

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## DQUARTERS

Endsleigh St., WC1

# The social causes of Mau Mau

FIFTEEN years ago Jomo Kenyatta, who is now being tried on the charge of the "management" of Mau Mau, was a student at the London School of Economics.

For his degree thesis he wrote a study of the life of his own tribe, the Gikuyu. It was of such interest and value that Professor Malinowski recommended it for publication and wrote an introduction. It appeared just before World War II under the title "Facing Mount Kenya." Now it has been republished by Seeker and Warburg (18s.).

I read this book when it first appeared. I have re-read it now, and I am impressed by the light it throws on present events in Kenya. In an anthropological rather than a political sense.

When Leslie Hale and I visited Kenya recently, the economic and psychological causes of African discontent were immediately evident to us. No one (except, perhaps, Mr. Lyttelton) could fail to understand the effects of land hunger and the colour bar. But it was some time before we understood the social background of the frustration. When we did, it appeared as the deepest mal-adjustment.

## No substitute for tribal life

In a sentence, the British administration has destroyed the old tribal life of the Gikuyu (or Kikuyu, as they are more often called) and has failed to provide a satisfactory substitute.

"Facing Mount Kenya" is not propaganda, though the author's passion for the freedom of his people sometimes breaks through. It is an objective picture of the earlier social pattern and customs of his tribe. Kenyatta does not hide practices which are revolting to most Westerners. These serve only to emphasise the disastrous disintegration of tribal life which has occurred.

This is the essence of our failure: in destroying the democratic expression of the tribe, we have driven back part of it to the evil things reflected in Mau Mau.

The basic structure of the tribe was in the community of the family, the age group

FENNER BROCKWAY, MP, reviews "Facing Mount Kenya", Jomo Kenyatta's recently republished book.

An extract from the book appeared in Peace News on Jan. 30, 1953 entitled "The Elephant and the Man."

and the clan. Each formed a conscious community. The family farmed together until it became too large; then the third or fourth generation started a new family farm. The boys and girls of the same age remained a closely-knit group all through their lives, passing from adolescent ceremonies to growing responsibilities. The clan was administered through an elected Council of Elders, which had the duty, with the mothers, of teaching the young their social duties and of settling disputes between individual members. This threefold community consciousness was the dynamic life of the tribe.

## The land problem

Now it has gone—or is going. Family unity has been destroyed by land hunger. There are only narrow strips of earth for the sons; there is no new land to which they can go. Age group unity has been lost in an unhappy division between the European missions and the independent African Church. The clan Council of Elders has been replaced by British District Officers and British-selected Chiefs administering a much wider area, and District Councils with very limited powers. For local democracy expressing the life of the people has been substituted bureaucratic officialdom repressing the life of the people.

Of course, this is only one side of the story. British administration has ended

*The division occurred about women's circumcision. On this issue my sympathy was with the European missions, but they were foolish in thinking this deep-rooted tribal custom could be ended suddenly by exclusion from the Church. The Church Missionary Society were wiser than other missions.*

the tribal wars. It has saved the lives of thousands of infants and prolonged the life of thousands more by its new ideas of hygiene and health. But its success in these directions has aggravated the land problem by the resulting increase in population. And its provision of education has not been sufficient to remove the hold of witchcraft and oaths, whilst the social, economic and political injustices of which we have been guilty have repulsed any African desire to co-operate with us in new ways.

The consequence has been that parts of the tribe depopulated community, have reverted to the bad in its own past.

The solution is to give the tribe the opportunity to establish a new and satisfying life. In concrete terms this means the recreation of clan and tribal democracy, meeting the demands of land hunger, initiating modern farming on a co-operative basis, removing other desperate economic grievances, providing universal education, ending the humiliation of the colour bar, and moving towards full racial equality, social, economic and political, so that injustices can be removed constructively.

Then, and then only, will the urge to relieve frustration by violence be removed. Then only will an adjusted new society be evolved.

## ANGLO-AMERICAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

### Borrowing led to economic dependence

By Francis Rona, M.Sc. (Econ.)

MR. BUTLER hopes to achieve a compromise on trade policies and some settlement of the "dollar problem" when he visits Washington shortly.

The Daily Express (Feb. 6), however, made the comment:

"What should public reaction be to the news that Mr. Eden and Mr. Butler are going to the United States?"

"The Chancellor follows the miserable trail ignominiously blazed by Keynes, Dalton, Cripps and Gaitskell. He goes to beg."

"It is true Mr. Butler does not seek a direct dollar dole. He wants an indirect one instead. He seeks American dollars to develop the British Empire. And he hopes to persuade the Americans to be kind enough to lower some tariffs so that a few more British goods may sell in the U.S."

"It is not only humiliating that Britain should be asking any kind of aid from the United States. It is downright dangerous."

"The dollars that have flowed from America to Britain have been accompanied by a ceaseless diminution of respect."

"America has tended to act first in affairs of foreign policy and to inform Britain afterwards. There has been a lack of American sympathy for Britain's policies in the Middle East."

"All these are direct results of Britain's economic dependence on America... There is no need to beg dollars to develop the British Empire. Use British pounds and British courage and British effort instead."

"In times of American recession tariff concessions would be withdrawn. And disaster would come to Britain."

## SAD STORY OF LOANS

No newspaper has yet published a factual survey of the American loans. Their "balance sheet" shows a net loss.

The 1946 Washington Loan, amounting to \$3,750 million, was subject to Britain's acceptance of the "convertibility" of £ into \$, abolition of import restrictions on U.S. goods and release of "blocked sterling balances" to India, Egypt, etc., also for purchases in America (Cf. Cmd. 6708, pages 3-5). At the same time, as a result of "decontrol" in the U.S., prices of grain and raw materials rose by about 50%; thus one-third of the loan was lost, but U.S. producers reaped higher profits.

In July 1947 convertibility was tried out for five weeks and had to be suspended to prevent the total loss of dollar reserves.

The \$-deficit in 1947 amounted to \$4,131m; i.e. it exceeded the U.S. loan by \$381m. To redeem the loan, Britain has to pay \$43m. annually to the U.S. until 1999!

Borrowing from the International Monetary Fund Washington is a costly business. Britain paid as subscription \$236m. in gold and \$1,064m. in sterling (Treasury Bonds). For the "privilege" of borrowing \$300m. during the "convertibility crisis" in 1947/48, that is getting back the gold paid in and receiving dollars for sterling, Britain now pays interest at 5% per annum.

There are not many fools in the world who pay 5% for "borrowing" their own money. This subsidising of inter-

## The Voice of Man

The agonised hope of birds;  
The breathing peace of country scenes;  
Facing the palace of jewelled words,  
All are shattered. Hope, joy, peace, and light.  
The voice of man breaks in—  
"We made another bombing raid last night!"

E.K.M.

## Reviews in brief

RECONCILIATION, the monthly journal of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (ed. from 38 Gordon Square, W.C.1) is once again full of valuable reading matter.

In the February issue the Rev. Claud Colman writes forcefully on the Churches' Mission to the RAF; Leslie Hale, MP, draws on his recent visit to Kenya; and Canon Harman's speech at the Vienna Congress is printed in full.

Other contributors whose names will be familiar to PN readers are Geoffrey Carnall, Rev. Alan G. Knott, Percy Bartlett and Clifford H. Macquire.

The journal lives well up to its subtitle: "A monthly review of the things of Peace."

H.B.

America over Britain by Philip Bolsover, c.8vo, 124 pp., paper bound (Lawrence and Wishart, 5s.).

Whilst the author's obvious sympathy with the extreme political left makes one feel that he overdoes his denunciation of American plans to completely dominate Britain and the rest of Europe, much of what he writes is undeniably true, and very disturbing.

T.R.D.

## Recent publications

### A LITTLE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT CIVIL SERVANTS

Government and You, by Arthur Cave, Methuens. 5s. 6d.

THIS book is designed primarily for teachers of what is often called Civics and also for their pupils, especially the 13 and 14 age groups.

It is a clear account of the functions and working of central and local government written in simple language which should be easily understood by youth.

The chapter on Monarchy is a little tedious, but the interest of the next chapter is heightened by descriptions of their work by two MPs. Then follow chapters on the budget, the social services, the civil service, the police force, the law courts, and local government.

There are three sections entitled "Things to Do." The first of these includes suggestions for the reader to keep an illustrated diary of the activities of the Opposition Leader; to find out how a local youth

club is organised who makes its rules, how they are enforced and who decides on the penalties for breaking them; to draw a map of the reader's constituency by figures of men which show the voting figures in each ward and to write a description of Mrs. Pankhurst talking about votes for women.

The making of models, the drawing of graphs, visits to places such as the local office of the Ministry of National Insurance and numerous other practical activities are also suggested. It is a little optimistic to suppose that any civil servant will be able or willing to explain the workings of the service.

The last chapter on 'The Government, the Council and your pocket can be used in arithmetic lessons!

The author might, in the next edition, give more guidance about the reading and understanding of reports, such as the local Medical Officer of Health's Report. This is, however, an admirable book and should remain in use for many years. A widespread use of it would do much to stimulate children's interest in civic affairs.

ROBERT S. W. POLLARD.

### —AND THE H-BOMB

THE Parliamentary Group for World Government has issued its 1952 Manifesto in pamphlet form (6d.).

In 1955 amendment of the U.N. Charter will come up for debate, and the group, which includes Lord Boyd Orr, Lord Beveridge, the Rt. Hon. Walter Elliot, MP, the Rt. Hon. Clement Davies, MP, and Mr. Henry Osborne, MP, is anxious that the views of the advocates of World Government should be advanced.

The Group wants a supra-national authority with powers to govern by legislative, judicial and executive action:

By creating and maintaining police and armed forces adequate to protect every part of the world community against all forms of international violence;

By determining the size and armaments of local police and militias; and

By controlling so far as is necessary the manufacture, distribution and use of armaments.

There is no specific mention in the pamphlet of the control of atomic energy, but in the covering note the Group have sent out with it they quote a leading article in the New York Times on the H-bomb in which it is remarked that an international body controlling such a weapon "would have powers approaching those of a world government."

The fact, therefore, that the group enters into no discussion regarding the control of atomic powers gives a rather artificial and remotely academic character to the argument. The issue of the centralisation of power that would be involved in World Government has been under discussion between the USSR and the USA ever since the formulation of the Baruch proposals, and it seems rather futile to seek to discuss the issue if the whole of this controversy is to be left out of account.

## CHOOSE YOUR OWN MARTYRDOM

A READER sends us 5s. a week regularly—his "tobacco money." He said he tried unsuccessfully to give up smoking until he found the incentive to sacrifice in his desire to help Peace News. "If my 5s. stops coming," he said, "you'll know I've succumbed for good."

Now martyrdom is something you have to do all on your own. You can't invite your friends to join you and make it a party. So I'd never think of asking anybody to give up smoking, particularly as the idea of giving it up myself makes me come over queer.

We all have our favourite poisons, taken with a view to making life pleasant. But one man's poison is not another man's meat, and the sight of other addicts taking different kinds of poison shocks us. I know people who lecture me on the evils of nicotine and alcohol, then sit down and swallow masses of white bread, and sometimes even corpse, and wash each mouthful down with tannin, or "tea" as they call it. The inconsistency would make me laugh if the sight weren't so revolting.

Another reader recently gave up that most dangerous of all poisons—daily newspapers—and buys extra copies of PN instead. Yet some people can't face life without newspapers. Curious.

But the point I wish to emphasise is this: All successful propaganda involves some degree of sacrifice; but the choice of sacrifice must be entirely personal.

And so, in asking you to suffer martyrdom for our sake, we wish it to be understood that we leave both the form of martyrdom and the degree of suffering entirely to you. All we ask is that you shall suffer. Thankyou.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since Feb. 13: £19 2s. 6d.

Total for 1953: £20 1s. 8d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.



## CRUCIFIXION OF KOREA



This painting was recently brought into the pulpit of Mount Hollywood Congregational Church, Hollywood, USA before a collection was taken for Korean relief.

The minister of the church, Rev. Allan Hunter, a Peace News reader, asked a sergeant of the Marine Corps just back from Korea to come up to the pulpit and comment on the painting.

"That's just how it is over there," he said after looking at the background of blazing ruins.

Through its minister the church has a fine record of witness for peace and reconciliation. Recently a cross was presented to it by Japanese Christians, made from wood salvaged after the first atom bomb had dropped on Hiroshima.

### "Honours even" in Pacifist-Tory debate

"VIOLENCE should not be used against violence," was the subject of a debate between Sybil Morrison and Col. McKinnon of the Conservative Party at University House, Bethnal Green, last Friday.

Col. McKinnon has debated Political subjects at this lively debating Society before and usually finds his audience against him. But not when it comes to pacifism. His most determined enemies in the political field came over to his side directly the idea of non-violence was the subject of discussion.

Sybil Morrison was congratulated by her opponents because she had introduced a subject which had "divided the house," and moreover divided it evenly. The Chairman refused to give a casting vote and declared "honours even."

## Christmas Card Designs for 1953

- Artists and photographers are asked to help Peace News by submitting designs for our fund raising range of cards. £3 3s. is offered for each design published.

Details on request.

**ENDSLEIGH CARDS** (Peace News Ltd.)

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

If You're

- Against Stalinism
- Against Capitalism
- For a Socialist Democracy and Total Disarmament

You Should Read The **SOCIALIST LEADER**

(The ILP Weekly)

3d.

Order from your newsagent or from 318, Regents Park Road, Finchley, London, N.3 (Specimen copies on request)

indispensable to members of the PPU who want up-to-date information of home and world politics.

## Patrick Duncan states his case NON-VIOLENCE WORLD'S ONLY HOPE

By O. CALDECOTT

**PATRICK DUNCAN**, one of the first white South Africans to join in the non-violent resistance campaign against unjust laws, has outlined the reasons for his dramatic intervention in a recent issue of *The Forum*, a South African liberal weekly.

He commences by asserting the need for the highest ethical standards in politics and by emphasising the aggressiveness of tribal religions of nationalism which have swept, and motivated, the West since the Middle Ages.

"Men are beginning to see through the perversion of politics," he continued. "The ordinary man in many countries is saying 'Politics is a dirty game'... People are troubled by the dichotomy of ends and means... (This) is just as well, because most politics in the past have been a dirty game. And the end never justifies the means."

### Ends and means

"To Gandhi," Duncan goes on, "ends and means were the same thing, for the only reality is today. If our acts today are dirty then we have soiled the reality, and the pure end, if it ever comes to pass, cannot undo what is done."

"Again, is there such a thing as an 'end'? There are surely only directions of flow."

"To the Bolsheviks of 1905 the revolution must have seemed a sacred end for which assassination and treachery were justified. But when 1917 came it was just another today, born out of soiled yesterday, and the predecessor of tens of thousands of soiled tomorrows. Only if each moment includes both end and means is political action justified."

"Many think that Clausewitz's dictum that war was but the logical continuation of politics is a paradox. It is not. All Western politics are based ultimately on force."

Duncan instances the strike threat lying at the basis of trade unionism which, however, he believes to be "a good thing" in that it represents an alternative to total violence. "But," he says, "let us never forget that whenever force enters into means, the end is going to be spoiled in some way."

### Politics

Politics, he argues, are still in the "blood-fest stage": social groups and nations maintain the right to exercise private vengeance for injustice suffered. The next step, therefore, is for man's communities to give up this right of private vengeance. "They have no real right to punish other groups because every human being and every human group is guilty."

Turning to South Africa, Duncan states that the biggest trouble is the splitting of the political world into white and non-white segments. This renders politics unreal because the social reality is quite otherwise, and it means that the two political "worlds" are moving rapidly apart in an endeavour to achieve their separate ends.

Since the urgent need—for white South Africa to make significant concessions to black South Africa's claims—is unlikely to be met in the face of white public opinion, the non-white group has to exercise a direct influence on events. They can do this either by civil disobedience or civil war.

The latter alternative, which may bring with it a repressive black supremacy, is so

### These Africans have "white" blood

**RACIAL** differences were forgotten when two devastating tornadoes struck African townships near Johannesburg at the end of last year.

Death, serious injury and ruin was brought to thousands, writes a teacher in a South African Methodist School, J. F. Reece, in a recent letter to the Methodist Recorder.

"Within minutes of the announcement over the radio, help began to pour in. Men and women rushed to bring food, clothing, medical help, and queued up to give their blood."

"White and black co-operated through the night to bring succour and relief to the dying, bereaved and homeless, in a spontaneous display of sympathy and compassion."

"Differences of colour were ignored as women tore up sheets for bandages, men searched."

"Within 24 hours people from all over South Africa were sending money, food, blankets, medical supplies, household goods, and building materials, and were offering free labour."

"There is hope for the future of a country where compassion lies so close to the surface... Artificial rules of apartheid break down in times of travail."

"A good many pints of white man's blood are now coursing through black men's veins."

The Authors' World Peace Appeal will discuss the Korean situation at a meeting for signatories only on March 9 at 30 Wood Lane, Highgate, at 8 p.m. A meeting on April 13 will discuss "How can I write for peace?"

### Son of first South-African-born Governor General

**THE** son of Sir Patrick Duncan, the first South African born Governor General, Mr. Duncan resigned from government service in Basutoland before joining with 7 other Europeans and Manilal Gandhi in a demonstration in the Germiston native location.

The entire group were arrested and fined. Patrick Duncan was fined £100 or 100 days compulsory hard labour. An appeal is pending.

About 8,000 Africans have been arrested since the start of the campaign in April 1952.

calamitous that "all men of good will ought to begin to work now to try and prevent it." This involves supporting non-violent civil disobedience which "if it is honourably used" may save South Africa from all violence in the coming transition, or may at least minimise it.

### Non-violence

In essence, Duncan says, non-violence regards all persons involved in the situation as of equal value "for all are human."

Non-violent methods "that do not threaten their (the oppressor's) lives, property, or future" can attract the best individuals from the other side, melt the oppressor's heart and produce a solution which "reconciles the parties," combining the good in each.

"It is the only hope for the world. South Africa is already in miniature an epitome of the world's worst problems, and clean politics in the fullest sense of the word are the only hope for South Africa," he concludes.

When White men of the perception of Duncan and (as we learn) Father Huddleston join the struggle of the Non-Europeans, the possibilities opened up are immense. By their new, savage legislation the government with the support of the opposition seems have realised this fact. This in itself is a tribute to the achievement of the Defiance campaign and the Europeans who have supported it.

## TO LIVE OR DIE?

### Doctors in atomic war

**SIR HENRAGE OGILVIE**, consulting surgeon at Guy's Hospital, suggests in an article in "The Practitioner" that in the event of atomic bombardment, reception areas, rather than the target city itself, may be destroyed through inaccurate bombing.

Ideal conditions are already well prepared for, says Sir Henrage, but the kind of conditions which medical personnel may have to face, and for which they should be prepared are "those in which a group of, say, ten doctors and fifty nurses, shaken and frightened by a recent attack of which they are the survivors, have been forced to open an emergency reception centre in a partly destroyed factory to which they have transported, with such help as could be obtained from civilians, as much as they could of the bedding, stores, and equipment from a bombed reception hospital five miles away."

### Railways destroyed

"The railways are destroyed, the roads unusable, no news is coming through, and all is rumour and guesswork. A thousand patients, injured to various degrees, have been brought in as soon as the existence of a hospital in the new site was known, and more are arriving all the time."

One of the responsibilities that the doctor will have in such a situation is that of determining priority amongst casualties. "When it becomes clear that it will be possible to offer the chance of survival to a proportion only of the injured, heart-breaking decisions must be made; but it is obviously right to treat three men who will recover with useful function in preference to one who may die in spite of surgery, or whose life, if he recovers, will be one of suffering."

### BRIEFLY . . .

Four hundred Christmas Cards were received in prison by one American CO, another had over 200. The War Resisters International have had acknowledgements from prisoners in Italy, France, Holland, Australia and the USA who received cards following the publication of a long list of prisoners' names and addresses in Peace News last December.

Bangor joint PPU and Fellowship of Reconciliation Group meet once a month for a study course which includes an examination of Richard Gregg's book "The Power of Non-violence." The local librarian told PPU field worker, Connie Jones, "Peace News is well-thumbed each week." Local PPU Secretary Robert King distributes 32 copies of PN weekly.

## MOVEMENT NEWS

### New links for Catholic pacifists

**CATHOLIC** pacifists now have representatives in eight countries linked together in an "International Fellowship of Catholic Pacifists."

Inspired by a common desire to work for the spiritual renewal of the Church and for the application of the principles of the Sermon on the Mount in national and international politics, they hope that their movement will grow to become a living fellowship throughout the world.

The following are the international correspondents:

Austria: Kaspar Mayr, 48, Nachreithergasse, Vienna 17, Austria.

Australia: Jude Lysaght, Aquinas Library, Queen St., Brisbane, Queensland.

Canada: Mark Wickham, 626 Victoria Ave., St. Lambert, Que. Canada.

France: Frank Emmanuel, 28, rue Rousselet, Paris VII.

Gr. Britain: A. F. Allison (Pax), 21 Dalmore Ave., Claygate, Surrey.

Germany: H. E. Muhlan, Freiburg, Brsg., Weidweg 28.

Ireland: William Swanton, 17 Charleville Rd., Rathmines, Dublin.

U.S.A.: Robert Ludlow (Catholic Worker), 223 Chrystie St., New York 2, N. Y.

### Police matron congratulated them

**DURING** the US presidential election, 31,000 leaflets were distributed to Peacekeepers, an American non-violent resistance group.

A team of White and Negro pacifists undertook a caravan trip to a number of US towns and cities.

At Wilmington, they were arrested and locked up for a night.

When the girls in the group told the police matron that the charges had been dropped, she said:

"So they lock you up when they don't like what you say."

She told the girls not to be frightened by the authorities and congratulated the pacifists on working together as an inter-racial group.

A new Peace Pledge Union Group has been formed recently at Keighley, Yorks. Shipley PPU members went through a snowstorm to support the inaugural meeting. Date of the next meeting at Keighley is March 12. Peace News is displayed in the Public Library.

Wrexham's Peace Pledge Union contact member and representative of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, Sidney Hamlet, regularly distributes 12 copies of Peace News in the neighbourhood, and a copy of PN appears in the Public Library. There is a Non-Combatant Corps reception centre in the town and 4 objectors in the Corps are able to keep in touch with local pacifists.

A Forum on Germany will be held in Hornsey on Thursday, March 5 at 7.30 p.m. at Park Chapel, Crouch Hill. Speakers invited by the local Committee for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem are Heinrich Fraenkel, Hugh Schonfield and John Elton.

### Young conscripts will see new leaflet

#### REGISTRATION DAY PLAN

**A** NEW leaflet for distribution to young conscripts has been prepared by the Non-violent Resistance Group and will be used outside a number of Labour Exchanges on the next registration day, March 7.

An important feature of the leaflet is the information it gives to registrants. The registrant is told that he is not bound to go into the armed forces, and that even if he does not register that day as a CO he can "return to the Labour Exchange at any time before you take a medical examination and ask to be put on the register of COs."

Mention is also made of the provision for men who first become COs while serving in the armed forces.

Facts about the Tribunal are printed and the leaflet continues:

"Probably you will come in for some criticism from those who think COs are cowards. You will not be alone in your stand against war, however. Since conscription was introduced in 1939, 70,000 young men have registered as COs and another 16,000 refused to fight in World War I."

The leaflet lists three sources from which COs can get help:

The group responsible for publishing the leaflet: The Non-violent Resistance Group, 79, Lordship Park, London, N.10; The Peace Pledge Union, and the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, both at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

In a statement issued to the Press, the Group announce their intention of compiling a list of pacifists who will distribute the leaflets at Labour Exchanges on registration day with a view to securing as possible a 100 per cent. coverage of Labour Exchanges on future registration days.

The leaflets are supplied at 2s. 100 per free.

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Editor: Peace News



## Campaign Corner

## COMMON DENOMINATORS

WE are fortunate in having a keen pacifist minister at our chapel, but the others in this circuit still need converting. Send me six Feb. 13 Peace News—I want to send a copy to each.

The recent articles on pacifism in the various Christian denominations provide a not-to-be-missed chance for readers to interest non-pacifist church acquaintances. Further articles dealing with other denominations will be included in future issues. Recent issues dealing with Congregationalists, Methodists and Catholics are still available; send for a dozen (2s. 6d. post free) and mail to local ministers, priests, church officers and members.

Church discussion groups will find them useful material for debating the Christian's responsibility concerning war. Every issue of Peace News brings these opportunities. Six a week for free distribution cost 1s. 3d.—the price of just a quarter of chocolates or half-a-dozen cigarettes. There would be no mistaking what pacifists stood for if more readers were active in this way.

H.F.M.

Circulation last week: 11,200.

native Yorkshire town of Birstal. The local parson didn't approve of a stonemason such as John Nelson daring to hold forth from a pulpit and in the open air.

The local alms house keeper like-wise objected for, thanks to the influence of this uneducated Methodist, people didn't drink as formerly.

So parson and publican conspired and in due course John was taken by the press gang for the armed forces.

But they couldn't make Nelson into a soldier.

"I shall not fight," he said "for I cannot bow my knee before the Lord to pray for a man, and then get up and kill him." He "served the Prince of Peace whose weapons were not carnal."

They court-martialed him and threatened him with death. He was unafraid, for he said "My life is hid with Christ in God." They thrust him into a foul stinking dungeon into which ran the drainings of a slaughterhouse. His spirit so triumphed that he likened this place to a palace.

He was afterwards released owing to the intervention of friends.

Pacifists in the Methodist Church might well call themselves "A Nelson Fellowship."

Our Navy League enthusiasts might be offended, but the people of peace might easily reply that Preacher John was more important than the Admiral Horatio—even if the falsification of historical values has decreed otherwise.

JOSEPH JACKSON,

19 Coombe Gardens, Bournemouth.

do you think conscription has been in force in this country? How long do you think it will be before conscription is ended in this country? Do you know what a conscientious objector is? Who can apply to be a conscientious objector in this country? Do you think it is right or wrong for a Christian to take part in war?

Helpers are urgently needed and should get in touch with me.

PHILIP SEED,

578, Laffie Road, S.W.6.

## China and UNO

IN your leading article of Feb. 13 you state that the Chinese writer of a letter to one of your readers, although saying much about the desire of the Chinese people for peace, fails to recognise "the fact that China has been declared an aggressor by UNO, the organisation set up for the maintenance of peace in the world." From this you conclude that "he does not even know—and therefore the majority of his compatriots do not know—that a considerable part of the world holds that his nation is an aggressor nation associated with another aggressor in breaking the peace."

While fully agreeing with your implied conclusion that it is wrong to attempt to indict a nation, I must point out that the resolution of the UN Assembly condemning China as an aggressor was in fact published throughout that country, and was at the same time the subject of an official statement by the Foreign Minister, who stigmatised it as illegal (since it was taken in the absence of any legal representative of the Chinese Government). In this he certainly has the support of the Chinese people, who cannot be expected to take seriously an organisation in which, three years after the inauguration of the People's Republic in Peking, China is still "represented" by the totally discredited and despised rump regime on Formosa.

Unless and until this wrong—which, as Mr. Nehru has repeatedly emphasised, lies at the root of the Far Eastern situation—is righted, the Chinese people will continue to feel that the desire of western peoples for peace is in no wise reflected by the United Nations Organisation, which in its present form they regard as a hollow mockery.

H. D. BRYAN,

4 Victoria Street, Cambridge.

(Mr. Bryan was formerly First Secretary at the British Embassy in Nanking and in Peking.—Ed. P.N.)

## Methodist pacifism

THE Rev. Percy Carden's very helpful article (PN Feb. 13) brings to mind the story of an early Methodist lay preacher John Nelson.

Nelson's preaching had disturbed his

## "America's Ribbentrop"

WHEN a newspaper serves as the one medium of expression for a minority movement it must inevitably, from time to time, reflect the bitterness and frustration which that minority feels, being made up as it is of frail human persons; this human frailty serves as a common bond with the majority who accept or advocate violence as a means of resolving human conflict.

In my view your political correspondent's article in Peace News for Feb. 13 comes within that category and though it will serve a limited purpose in acting as a sop to our bitterness and frustration it will not bring World Peace any nearer and that, after all, is the main purpose of "Peace News" and the goal to which pacifists have dedicated their lives.

Do we know enough about John Foster Dulles to describe him as "the most sinister figure of the post-war political scene"? Have we positive evidence that his contribution to the origins of the Korean war may not have been limited to the making of "inflammatory speeches." Is it in accord with the spirit of non-violence to dub him "America's Ribbentrop" and sneer at "his lofty Christian principles"?

What we do know is that John Foster Dulles is the mouthpiece of a great nation that is frightened, as it has never been

frightened before in its history. We also know that America's fear is due as much to its super abundance and reckless misuse of material resources as to the aggressive and expansionist tendencies of its great neighbour Soviet Russia.

We should know, too, that America is a land where the Red Indian has been and the Negro still is, oppressed, where the rape of the soil is still tacitly accepted and where the abundance of hountiful Mother-Earth could support a population of at least double the number it does at present if her material resources were carefully husbanded and utilized.

It is a land where personal freedom and the rights of the individual are inscribed in the Constitution, where an active and able Pacifist minority are confident, well-organised and making an impact which may, if it succeeds, prevent World War III.

We know, too, that the most outspoken, conspicuous advocate of non-violence and the renunciation of war can speak and write freely and remain alive even if he does get kicked to the bottom of the social ladder and become a very under-privileged person in the process. That is the reward promised to all who fearlessly preach and practise the teaching of Jesus Christ.

We know a little about Soviet Russia, too. That she is evolving a mass-civilisation and a super organised State that must of necessity ignore the feelings and sensitivities of the individual and ruthlessly stamp him out when those feelings and sensitivities impede or obstruct the evolution of the Communist State.

We know the reputation of the view that there is something of God in every man and that the only function of the outspoken, conspicuous advocate of non-violence and renunciation of war is martyrdom.

Whether we consider these factors make Soviet Russia a greater enemy to our ideals than America or not is immaterial, the fact emerges that in America we can sustain a precarious foothold, in Soviet Russia we can remain alive only if we remain silent.

This condition of things is the main challenge to us as pacifists and I feel that when we resort to bitterness and abuse we are turning aside from the challenge and being further side-tracked into a condition of complete bitterness and frustration. Most of us know that this challenge is for us to create the non-violent society and we can only do this if our reputation of war is matched by a reputation of those things that make for war. ALAN MISTER, The Broomyard, Forest Row, Sussex.

## Conscription survey

A GROUP of students is undertaking a survey of the opinion on conscription of those who are subject to it. It is desired to interview about 600 young men.

Questions to be asked, include: How long

Anglo-American Economic Relations  
"DEFENCE MOBILISATION"  
PREVENTS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

From page three

Since July 1950, the U.S. Congress has allocated \$129,000 million to military expenditure and expansion of the "defence mobilisation" effort.

This amount (£16,100 m.) equals the total National Income of Britain in four years.

In 1953 the U.S. will invest \$26,300m. for new plants and industrial equipment (Cf. Survey of Curr. Business, Jan. 1953, p.3). According to UN (Statistical Papers, Ser. E.3, 1951, p.3), 1,253m. people in Asia have an annual income of \$53,000 m. i.e. only twice the above sum.

The Treasury's "Bulletin for Industry" in February puts the sum required for India's "5-year Development Plan" at £1,554m. (\$4,350m.). If Commonwealth countries developed their resources, their income levels would be raised and they would buy more from Britain. The money required for investment should be raised in Britain. America's "defence programme" leaves no expendable margin for Commonwealth development.

The advice of the Daily Express "not to beg for dollars" is well justified.

## Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent to us. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

ABBREVIATIONS: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, APF; Fellowship of Reconciliation, F.O.R.; Methodist Peace Fellowship, MPF; National Peace Council, NPC; Peace with China Council, PWC; Peace Pledge Union, PPU; Society of Friends, S.O.F.

**Friday, February 27**  
MILTON: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., 100, High St. Rev. Hampden Horne, "The Peace of Peace." F.O.R.

**Saturday, February 28**  
CROYDON: 4 p.m.: Adult School Hall, 100, Lane. Social in aid of Peace News. Bring and buy stall. Westminster. Speaker: Allen Skinner. Peace News. PPU.

**Sunday, March 1**  
CLAPHAM: 3 p.m.: Clapham Common (Green Ground), Open-air mtg. Mona. PPU.  
HAYES: 11.45 Whitestone Pond. George. PPU.  
CENTRAL LONDON: Ramble, from 10.30 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. Meet at Platform 7, Liverpool Street Station, 10.30 a.m. PPU.

**Monday, March 2**  
HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m.: 12 Downside (Belisle Pk. Tube) Kara Jansen, "War Resisters International." "Peace in Norway." F.O.R.  
LYRPOOL: 7.30 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Hall, 100, High St. Wilfred Wellock: "Trade Unions." Toldas Group.

**Tuesday, March 3**  
WARRINGTON: 7.30 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Hall, 100, High St. "Seeing for Russia." F.O.R.  
LONDON: 7.30 p.m.: YMCA, Hugh. "Seeing for Myself in Russia." F.O.R.

**Wednesday, March 4**  
LONDON: 8 p.m.: Kingsley Hall, Powis Rd. Speaker: Allen Skinner. Wollen. Gladys Read, Peter. Question Master, Vera Brittain. PPU.

**Thursday, March 5**  
LONDON: 8 p.m.: Kingsley Hall, Powis Rd. Speaker: Allen Skinner. Wollen. Gladys Read, Peter. Question Master, Vera Brittain. PPU.

**Friday, March 6**  
LONDON: 1.30 p.m.: St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Intercession Service for Peace. The Rev. Basil Hewitt, A.P.F. F.O.R.

**Saturday, March 7**  
LONDON: W.C.1: 3.5.30 p.m.: Friends' International Club, 22 Tavistock Sq. J. B. Annand, M.A., "The International Work of the New Education Fellowship." Education Commission, PPU.

**Sunday, March 8**  
LEEDS: 7.30 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Lane. Hugh Faulkner, "Seeing for Myself in Russia." F.O.R.

**Monday, March 9**  
CHEADLE HULME: 7.30 p.m.: Cong. School-room, Swan Lane. E. Russell Brashaw, "The Racial Problems of South Africa." S.O.F.

**Tuesday, March 10**  
LEEDS: 7.30 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Lane. Hugh Faulkner, "Seeing for Myself in Russia." F.O.R.

**Wednesday, March 11**  
FINSHURY PARK: 7 p.m.: 3 Blackstock Road, N.4. Discussion on future plans. Non-violent Resistance Group.

## Thursday, March 5

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Charles Tifford, Topical Talk. PPU.

HORNSEY: 7.30 p.m.: Ch. Parlour, Park Chapel, Crouch Hill, N.8. Forum on Germany: Heinrich Franke, Hugh Schonfield, John Elton. Hornsey Ctee. Peaceful Solution German Problem.

## Friday, March 6

LONDON: W.C.2: 1.30 p.m.: St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Intercession Service for Peace. The Rev. Basil Hewitt, A.P.F. F.O.R.

HULL: 8.45 p.m.: 6 Bond St. Group members on "Why I am a Pacifist." Discussion. PPU.

## Saturday, March 7

LONDON: W.C.1: 3.5.30 p.m.: Friends' International Club, 22 Tavistock Sq. J. B. Annand, M.A., "The International Work of the New Education Fellowship." Education Commission, PPU.

UXBRIDGE: 7 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Belmont Rd. Herbert Swift, "The Law of Peace." C.O. Fellowship.

## Monday, March 9

CHEADLE HULME: 7.30 p.m.: Cong. School-room, Swan Lane. E. Russell Brashaw, "The Racial Problems of South Africa." S.O.F.

## Tuesday, March 10

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Lane. Hugh Faulkner, "Seeing for Myself in Russia." F.O.R.

## Wednesday, March 11

FINSHURY PARK: 7 p.m.: 3 Blackstock Road, N.4. Discussion on future plans. Non-violent Resistance Group.

## Thursday, March 12

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Dr. Richard Pankhurst, "Crisis in Kenya and South Africa." PPU.

## Friday, March 13

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE: 7.30 p.m.: Cornought Hall, Backet St. Leslie Hale, MP, "Kenya." Chair, Ivan Coffin, Tickets 6d. from 99 Grosvenor Rd., Jesmond, Newcastle-on-Tyne 2. PPU and Congress of Peoples against Imperialism.

## Saturday, March 14

PAINSWICK: 3 p.m.: Gyde Home, Rev. Clifford Macquire, "Talking Peace in Moscow." F.O.R.

SALISBURY: 12 noon: Poster parade from Johnston Village to Microbiological Research Establishment, Porton. 2.30 p.m. Poster parade from London Road Cemetery Salisbury. 4 p.m. Open-air meeting. Salisbury Market Place, speaker Stuart Morris. Non-violent Resistance Group.

## Tuesday, March 17

HAMMERSMITH: 7.45 p.m.: Dalling Rd. Methodist Sunday Sch., W.6. Rev. Clifford Macquire, "My Visit to Russia." PPU. F.O.R.

## Wednesday, March 18

HERNE HILL: 8 p.m.: Herne Hill Cong. Ch. Hugh Faulkner, Chair: John Ferguson, M.A. B.D. F.O.R.

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m.: 15 New Searbro Rd. Bramley. Dr. Arnold Kettle "Visit to Russia." PPU.

## Friday, March 27

WESTMINSTER: 7.30 p.m.: Central Hall. "H can be Peace." Speakers: Cecily Cook, OBE (Women's Co-operative Guild) H. W. Franklin (NFR), The Ven. Percy Harrell "Archdeacon Stokely-Carmichael." Minnie Pallister, Victor Yates, MP. Chair: Sybil Morrison. PPU.

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## MEETINGS

L.P. DAY school on Yugoslavia: A. Sokorac, Yugoslav Press Council, Montagu Hotel, W.C.1 (nr. Russell Sq.), Mar. 8, at 3.30-8.30 p.m.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tab. Sunday at 7 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Colman, MA, B.Litt.

MANCHESTER BRANCH Britain-China Friendship Association. Protest at latest threats to Peace in the Far East. Hear Harold Davies, MP, Lt. Col. Read-Collins (formerly of General MacArthur's legal staff), Roland Cassola (well known trade union leader). Fri. Mar. 6, 7.30 p.m., Oward Hall, Deansgate. Adm. 6d.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY of Women. Conference. "The world we want for our children." Hospitality needed for night of Sat., Mar. 8, for delegates from Provinces. Please send offers now to "H", 18, Kent Tce., N.W.1. PAD 0887.

PUBLIC DEBATE: "That the policy of pacifism is the only practical alternative to the policy of war." Proposer: Peace Pledge Union (H. Garling); Opposer: Socialist Party of Great Britain (A. Turner). At Greenford Library, Greenford, Thurs. Mar. 5, 7.30 p.m. Adm. Free.

SCIENCE FOR Peace. Annual Conf. Sat. (2.30) and Sun. March 14 and 15, Holborn Hall, W.C.1. Opening speaker: Dr. R. L. M. Synges, FRS on "The Scientific Responsibilities." All scientists welcome. Adm. 5s. at door or details from Hon. Sec. 49, Flower Lane, N.W.7.

WAR WITH CHINA? Lord Stansgate, Sir Compton Mackenzie, R. H. Crossman, MP, Donald Somer, Kingsley Martin, Emrys Hughes, MP, Dr. Shrivankar and F. Jaffri. Peace with China Council mtg. Kingway Hall, Mon., Mar. 2, 7 p.m. Adm. free.

## EXHIBITION

WATER-COLOURS by Dennis James and oil paintings by Jane Moore, at the Irving Galleries, Leicester Square, until Mar. 21. Daily 10-6. Sat. 10-12 noon.

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## FOR SALE &amp; WANTED

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## MISCELLANEOUS

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# FLOOD RELIEF OR ATOM BOMBS?

## World opinion and war preparations

Continued from page one

trying to create a pro-Russian feeling in Holland.

No, I believe that the Russian generosity should be regarded as a genuine human recognition that here was a natural calamity which was something that went beyond national differences and that it was their duty both to help in a practical and tangible way and also to express their sympathy in a tragedy which happens to many nations in the world irrespective of whether their government is Communist or Capitalist or to the ideology or race or colour of the stricken victims.

### Common bond of brotherhood

Russia has, of course, like China, its mighty rivers which overflow and bring disaster to thousands of victims. Russia not only knows flood but famine and epidemic disease. These natural calamities ought to bring all human beings together in a common bond of brotherhood.

Yet we surely must not stop here. If we are going to contribute to help each other in times of suffering why cannot we co-operate in ways which would help to make war impossible.

Supposing, for example, that we received the news that some great Russian city like Moscow, Leningrad or Stalingrad had been destroyed by an earthquake like the one which came to San Francisco.

One has no doubts that there would be an immediate wave of sympathy all over America and Europe and that the same generosity that the Russians have displayed to the flood victims of Europe would be displayed to the Russians in their ordeal.

In the light of this is it not a terrible thought that we are engaging in vast operations to destroy each other by atom bombs. Atom bombs dropped on the crowded cities of Britain and Holland would cause just as much damage as the floods.

### A greater danger

More people would be homeless and destitute by an atomic raid on London than suffered in the floods, and American atom bombers, we are told, could raze Moscow, with its population of six million, into ashes and ruins in a night.

### Registration for National Service

The next registration takes place on March 7, when young men born between April 1 and June 30, 1935, are required to register. Any intending conscientious objector is invited to write for information on the procedure to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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That is what we are preparing to do to each other at a time when Mr. Churchill and Mr. Gromyko are shaking hands with each other at 10 Downing Street.

Surely it is our duty to transmute this spirit of common sympathy and generosity into the realm of international affairs.

A third World War would bring infinite distress to all of us, Russians and British alike.

Ought we not, then, to be trying, to the best of our ability and our strength, to make a supreme effort to end the international tension? It is making both sides spend on preparations for war the money, labour and materials, and human ingenuity and research which should be going into works of reconstruction which would save hundreds of millions of human beings from flood, famine and disease.

Why should the friendliness displayed at 10 Downing Street on Monday be allowed to stop there?

Cannot we seize this as an opportunity to realise that war as well as flood is the great danger to our common humanity?

Why cannot the heads of states meet now in this spirit? They will have an enormous world opinion behind them if they try.

**"When the last old soldier fades away, he will be buried by a conscientious objector"**

## The social significance of conscientious objection

The following is an abridgement of an article by Lyle Tatum, "A Time to say No," published in the October issue of Fellowship, the journal of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Lyle Tatum is the Executive Secretary of the Central Committee for COs in America.

I AM talking about conscientious objection as the refusal to be a member of the armed forces and a willingness to go to prison rather than into the armed forces, if that choice must be made.

I do not include the alternative service position, or noncombatant duty in the armed forces, nor am I talking about refusal to register for military service, refusal to pay taxes, or other testimonials that sometimes accompany refusal to participate in the armed forces.

What I am talking about is the purely negative position of saying "No" to participation in the armed forces, and the significance of this negative position without the adornments of saintly living, positive programmes, and other valuable attributes generally associated with religious pacifism.

Conscientious objection, as defined above, has often been considered insignificant by both pacifists and anti-pacifists.

Some pacifists feel that conscientious objection is of slight relevance when separated from good deeds or depth of religious expression and belief, or a particular theological concept.

I believe that conscientious objection is the most significant thing in my life, and in the lives of most of the members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. I do not think you have to be a saint to be a conscientious objector, but I do think you have to be a conscientious objector to be a saint.

When we talk about conscientious objection, we are talking about the pants to a suit—perhaps a pair of pants without a coat or vest or a belt or even pockets or cuffs, but the pants.

### "I am an individual"

Conscientious objection affirms democratic political principles in three ways.

First, it is a symbol of the importance of the individual, a basic tenet of democracy. In a time of mass conformity, when every individualistic idea is suspect, the CO stands up and says, "I am an individual." The rest of the world may remark on what a queer specimen he is, but it is once more evident that mankind is not just a mass of duplicate personalities.

Secondly, conscientious objection is proof of the freedom of the individual. We widely proclaim this as the land of the free, but it sometimes appears that our only freedom is to go along with the crowd. The CO says that each man has not only the freedom but the obligation to choose the way of life he wishes to follow.

The CO's third political affirmation is the proof of the limitation of the power of the state. When faced with conscientious objection this limitation becomes not an abstraction of civics classes or the theoretical position of the democratic state, but a reality. Often it is a harsh reality for the state at the peril of its liberty, he says that there are things the state cannot do. Nevertheless, it becomes evident that the powers of the state are limited.

## The Battle of the Bulge

"... in the process of rolling metal into sheets, a bulge will sometimes appear; this has to be reduced, or the sheet will be useless. The way to do this is obviously to hammer it out. Yes; but not by hammering on the bulge. If you do that you will produce another bulge, or more than one and perhaps crack the sheet into the bargain. You must hammer all round it. . . . Avoid violence. Your hammering must be gentle . . . metals resent violence—very like human nature they yield under gentle pressure but crack under violence. . . . Gradually approach the point of the bulge and before you get there you will find it has disappeared and the sheet is perfectly level."

Advice to Levellers by Dr. L. P. Jacks.

RECENTLY I debated with an Army Colonel who was also a practised open-air speaker for the Conservative Party.

His panacea for the evil of war was to prepare for war, and there were a number of staunch Labour Party members in the audience who heartily agreed with him, spoke strongly of the necessity for "standing up to the bully," and cheered him strenuously when he said, in effect, that "Britons never, never never will be slaves."

That Britons are in fact enslaved to the war machine is excused on the grounds of defence; that Britain should conscript boys at the age of eighteen is explained on the grounds of expediency; that 100 million pounds should be spent on exploding an already obsolete atom bomb is boosted on the grounds of necessity.

The first world war, and also the second, it is argued, were forced upon this country by the unprovoked aggression of Germany whose militarism was the only obstacle to peace—the persistent, pernicious bulge in an otherwise perfect sheet of pure white metal.

Yet, there is still a bulge. It has been hammered and hammered, to the tune of

blasting detonations, crashing building roaring jets, and thundering salvos, the bulge is not flattened. It rises again, sickeningly intransigent, in a different place, but with the same look, the same leering face of the war tyrant who will not be beaten down by feeble blows from a futile hammer.

As the battering din resounds through the world the same arguments for continuing bravely and staunchly to smite the bulge, are to be heard above the infernal clatter, "Better to die on your feet than to live on your knees," cries the wielder the hammer as the metal still resists onslaught.

But this is not, and never has been, an alternative, since war does not necessarily mean either death or victory. The Germans have been defeated in war, but many of them live, apparently to fight again, though this time in a different cause, on the other side. The bulge has not been flattened, it is just as large, and just as formidable.

Hitler was the direct result of a policy which ought never to have been fought. 1908 it would have been possible for British Foreign Office to reconsider policy of "divide and rule" in Europe. It would have been right as well as rational to discuss with Germany's rulers their policy for expansion and trade, rather than build Dreadnoughts to show the strength designed to prevent such expansion.

During the years after 1918 it would have been wise as well as moral, to assume some share of responsibility for those years of futile slaughtering, and to attempt to build a society of nations not on collective armaments, but upon selective goodwill.

The pursuit of policies based on detentions, retaliation, and impossible relations, eventually threw up the monstrous bulge of Hitler, and immediately, out of the hammers again to flatten him and many once and for all.

That this is not the way is obvious after all the effort, the sweat and the toil and the tears, there is still the need of the peaceful ironing out of the wrinkles that distort the world. Hammering the bulge is not the answer; war has been effective to remove the excrescence of tyranny, and war preparations have prevented wars.

The way to prevent war is to prepare peace, and the way to prepare for peace is to be peaceable. Instead of renewing National Service Acts, they should be moved from the Statute Book; instead of spending millions on atom bombs, it should be spent upon consumable goods; instead of calling for Civil Defence volunteers, the call should be for volunteers to make "war on want."

This would be to hammer, not on bulge but gently round it; behind the Curtain there could be no misunderstanding of such actions, and when at last great levelling is completed, the bulge will have disappeared, and the struggle for peace will have been won.

### Jersey ends call-up

Continued from page one

House seemed to appreciate that this was little unrealistic.

Senator Le Marquand said Jersey was opposed to their sons undergoing military service out of the island, and would to an ancient charter granting them immunity from such service.

The debate took place on the morning of February 17. When the House resumed after lunch, the President of the Defence Committee tendered his resignation, which was accepted.

The House then went on to discuss potatoes.

### "No Conscription" speech wins contest

RON Isaacs of Tottenham took the prize in the British Federation of Co-operators' Southern Section speaking contest recently.

His subject was "No Conscription" which he said was of particular importance this year because the National Service would soon be coming before Parliament for review.

Did any BFYC member, he seriously believe that conscription was the co-operative cause?

Co-operators were trying to end exploitation of man by man of which was the worst form. It was plain that young people in general were not in favour of conscription, but were not sure of any way in which it could be stopped. Joe Berry, one of the runners-up in the contest, spoke about "Constructive Making."

Published from 3 Blackstock Lane, London, E.C.4. Printed by Peace News, Ltd., 3 Blackstock Lane, London, E.C.4.

# UN

From a session of the United Nations General Assembly, the prospect of a change.

It is to be proposed that should be defeated by significant Arab-Asian and that the On previous has not secure

The maiden of the American Lodge, ran the new Administration to the Charter of the United Nations do not regard the relation as "monstrous" and that the part of the were many reasons

He supports facts," challenge prove them.

Proposals for It is also to be proposed by Alexei Meserov, Soviet News for the Indian specific proposals

It is time to whole purpose to secure an in the Russian of this at the tin finally insert which made it

In the early fire it was recalled to have to be recalled and there was a sign of them for a cause fire

They were proposals to be

So the Indians to find a common formula on which a preliminary If the Russian there would be commissions of prisoners v out delay.

Russia may to be good relations, but stating that it any specific should not be proposals for contained other ment of a co-participation of

### Repatriation

The difference is that the I immediate cessation agreed milita by the settlement mission to de-ance with int

Because of the interpreta the Italian p settle the pri commission a the Geneva ( 1945, and i detention an and specific had been app-teen weeks f-idea agreem been accepted

Not, but it had been set days has soon as the problem had

The conse-I by the Indian by the Russi-er of propos-If there is the two pr-itself to find-ally for the-ling destroy of the Un-authority is-nd of the-urther enda- is prolonged.